

Message Text

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61
ORIGIN IO-13

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DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:GBHELMAN/BFOPPEL:B
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C:JMONTGOMERY
P:PHABIB
ARA/PLC:GMONSMA
EUR:JAARMITAGE
EA/K:PMAYHEW
S/CCT:ESHURWITZ
S:HDCOLLUMS
S/S: PSBRIDGES

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 196205 TOSEC 200145

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), UN, UR

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: DEMARCHE TO USSR ON UN ISSUES
(S/S 7616589)

TO THE SECRETARY FROM IO-BAKER THROUGH C-SONNENFELDT

1. THE PROBLEM:

THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT TAKEN UP OUR OFFER OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN ADVANCE OF THE UNGA. NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO CONVEY TO THE SOVIETS OUR VIEWS ON KEY ISSUES, ESPECIALLY PUERTO RICO. SONNENFELDT HAS RECOMMENDED THAT YOU REVIEW OUR PROPOSED INSTRUCTION TO EMBASSY MOSCOW.
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2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS:

THE SOVIET ANSWER TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR PRE-UNGA EXCHANGES WAS THAT IT IS A GOOD IDEA. HOWEVER, OUR SUGGESTION FOR

TALKS BETWEEN SAM LEWIS AND HIS COUNTERPART (ISRAELYAN) IN LATE JUNE DID NOT FIT ISRAELYAN'S SCHEDULE, WE WERE TOLD. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT RESPONDED TO EMBASSY MOSCOW'S SUGGESTION THAT THEY NAME ANOTHER DATE. WE ARE NOT PURSUING THE POINT AND NOW DO NOT ANTICIPATE ANY CON-

SULTATIONS EXCEPT FOR POSSIBLY A PRO FORMA ROUND IN NEW YORK JUST BEFORE THE UNGA.

WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, TO CONVEY TO THE SOVIETS WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OUR VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES AND ESPECIALLY ON PUERTO RICO, WHICH IS LIKELY TO BE PRESSED BY THE CUBANS IN THE COMMITTEE OF 24 (DECOLONIZATION) IN AUGUST. WE WANT TO SIGNAL THE SOVIETS AS CLEARLY AS WE CAN THAT SUPPORT OF A POST-COLOMBO MOVE BY CUBA IN THE COMMITTEE OF 24 TO GET COMMITTEE SUPPORT OF THEIR PROPOSALS AND HENCE A UNGA DISCUSSION THIS FALL WOULD BE OFFENSIVE TO US, IN THE HOPE THAT THE SOVIETS WILL DISCOURAGE THE CUBAN MOVE OR AT LEAST NOT AGITATE IN FAVOR OF IT. MOREOVER, WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT THE SOVIETS UNDERSTAND OUR REACTION TO THEIR UNHELPFUL BEHAVIOR IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THAT WE IMPRESS ON THEM OUR POSITION ON KOREA.

PLEASE NOTE THAT IN PRESENTING OUR CASE ON PUERTO RICO WE CITE THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT (TAB 2) CHARACTERIZING AS AN "UNFRIENDLY ACT" SUPPORT BY ANY GOVERNMENT OF UNGA CONSIDERATION OF PUERTO RICO. YOU WILL RECALL THAT LAST YEAR YOU DELIBERATELY CHOSE NOT TO AUTHORIZE THE USE OF "UNFRIENDLY ACT" LANGUAGE WITH THE SOVIETS (AND THE CHINESE) ALTHOUGH WE DID SO WITH OTHER COMMITTEE OF 24 MEMBERS IN THE COURSE OF OUR SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO GET A NARROW 11-9 VOTE IN FAVOR OF POSTPONEMENT.

FINALLY, IO WOULD PREFER TO DELETE THE LAST PARAGRAPH
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(7) OF THE MESSAGE BECAUSE IT DILUTES THE FORCE OF THE PRESENTATION AND SUGGESTS THAT THE BALL IS IN OUR COURT ON THIS MATTER RATHER THAN WITH THE SOVIETS. EUR PREFERS TO INCLUDE THE LAST PARAGRAPH IN ORDER TO INDICATE TO THE SOVIETS THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE A DIALOGUE ON THESE AND OTHER UNGA ISSUES.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS:

A. THAT YOU AUTHORIZE TRANSMISSION OF THE TELEGRAM AT TAB 1.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

ALTERNATIVELY, THAT THE LANGUAGE RELATING TO "UNFRIENDLY ACT" BE DELETED AND, INSTEAD, THE EMBASSY BE AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE WITH THE SOVIETS A COPY OF THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ON PUERTO RICO.

APPROVE: DISAPPROVE:

B. THAT YOU APPROVE DELETION OF PARAGRAPH 7. (IO)

APPROVE: DISAPPROVE:

ALTERNATIVELY, THAT PARAGRAPH 7 REMAIN. (EUR)

APPROVE: DISAPPROVE:

ATTACHMENTS:

TAB 1: PROPOSED TELEGRAM TO MOSCOW WITH REFTELS A& B.

TAB 2: PRESIDENT'S JUNE STATEMENT ON PUERTO RICO (REF C).

CLEARED BY S- : P-PHABIB: IO-JABAKER; EUR:JARMITAGE:

4. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PROPOSED TELEGRAM (TAB 1) TO MOSCOW:

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SUBJECT: APPROACH TO MFA ON UN MATTERS

REF: A) STATE 174771; B) STATE 111286; C) STATE 159509

1) IN THE ABSENCE OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAELYAN ON UNGA KEY ISSUES, WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT DESPITE GENERALLY IMPROVED RAPPORT WITH SOVIETS IN FINANCIAL, CHARTER REVIEW AND SOME DISARMAMENT AREAS, TO TRY AND IMPRESS UPON MFA THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THEM AND OTHERS OF TRYING TO CURRY THIRD WORLD FAVOR BY EXPLOITING INFLAMMATORY, DEVISIVE ISSUES. ALTHOUGH SOVS HAVE GIVEN US GRIEF ON A NUMBER OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES WE HAVE FOREMOST IN MIND AT THIS TIME THE HARMFULNESS TO OUR RELATIONS OF THEIR PAST AND PROSPECTIVE POSITIONS ON THE PUERTO RICAN AND ZIONISM/RACISM ISSUES, ESPECIALLY THE FORMER. WE LEAVE IT TO EMBASSY TO DECIDE ON LEVEL OF PRESENTATION, BUT IT SHOULD BE SENIOR ENOUGH TO ASSURE THAT OUR ATTITUDE IS FACTORED INTO POSITIONS THE SOVIET UNION TAKES ON THESE SUBJECTS IN THE UN THIS YEAR. IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSING THESE TWO MAJOR POINTS, WE WOULD LIKE TO TRY AGAIN TO ENLIST SOVIET COOPERATION ON KOREAN QUESTION AND TERRORISM.

2) GENERAL POINT MIGHT BE MADE TO SOVIETS THAT UNNECESSARY POLEMICS BETWEEN US AND USSR DAMAGE BOTH UN AND GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS. SUCH PUBLIC CONFRONTATIONS IMPEDE EFFORTS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND ALSO UNDERMINE UN ORGANIZATION. AS SOVIETS THEMSELVES HAVE LONG BEEN AWARE AND SO ARGUED, THE UN CAN ONLY OPERATE EFFECTIVELY IF IT IS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE WHICH ARE ACCEPTABLE TO MAJOR MEMBER STATES, AND US PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR UN HAS ALREADY BEEN ERODED BY UNCONSTRUCTIVE MOSCOW-SUPPORTED DEVELOPMENTS SUCH AS THE RESOLUTION ON ZIONISM/RACISM AND ATTEMPTS TO REDISTRIBUTE WORLD ECONOMIC POWER BY FIAT. AFTER WITNESSING NEGATIVE SOVDEL ATTITUDE TOWARD OUR PROPOSALS TO LDCS AT UNCTAD WHILE IT MADE NONE AT ALL OF ITS OWN, WE HAVE NOTED WITH CONCERN AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT SOVIETS ARE ENCOURAGING
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ANTI-US MEASURES IN NON-ALIGNED GROUP IN CONNECTION WITH COLOMBO MEETING.

3) IN DISCUSSING SOVIET BEHAVIOR ON ZIONISM/RACISM, EMBASSY SHOULD DRAW ON EXAMPLES IN REF A.

4) ON PUERTO RICO, EMBASSY SHOULD EMPHASIZE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE WOULD VIEW CONCERTED EFFORT WITHIN COMMITTEE OF 24 TO BRING PUERTO RICO QUESTION BEFORE THE UNGA. EMBASSY SHOULD POINT OUT THAT PRESIDENT (ON JUNE 26) ADDRESSED THE QUESTION AND SAID THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS INTERVENTION IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF PUERTO RICO AND THE UNITED STATES AND WILL BE AN UNFRIENDLY ACT WHICH WILL BE RESISTED BY APPROPRIATE MEANS. EMBASSY MAY DRAW ON BACKGROUND INFORMATION IN REF B AS NECESSARY IN RESPONSE TO POINTS SOVIETS MAY MAKE BUT SHOULD NOT SEEK TO DISCUSS DETAILS OR IN ANY OTHER WAY EXHIBIT DEFENSIVENESS.

5) AS SOVIETS ARE AWARE, WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO FORCE A CONFRONTATION ON THE KOREAN QUESTION AT UPCOMING UNGA. AT THE SAME TIME, IRRESPONSIBLE AND INFLAMMATORY NORTH KOREAN ACTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE AUGUST 5 NORTH KOREAN STATEMENT FALSELY ALLEGING THAT THE US AND ROK HAVE COMPLETED COMBAT PREPARATIONS "TO IGNITE THE FUSE OF WAR," PROVIDE NO GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM. WE REGRET THAT NORTH KOREA HAS RESORTED TO SUCH AN APPROACH AND HAS MADE SUCH GROSSLY FALSE CHARGES. WE HOPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL USE ITS INFLUENCE TO MOVE NORTH KOREANS TO A MORE REALISTIC, FLEXIBLE POSITION. IN PARTICULAR, WE HOPE THAT MOSCOW NOW WILL URGE NORTH KOREA TO MODIFY ITS

STANCE IN ORDER TO AVOID ANOTHER ACRIMONIOUS, STERILE
DEBATE AT THE UNGA. IF THE NORTH KOREANS IN THE UNGA
INSIST ON PRESSING THEIR UNREALISTIC DEMANDS FOR US
FORCE WITHDRAWAL AND NEGOTIATIONS ON KOREA EXCLUDING THE
ROKG, WE OBVIOUSLY WILL NOT LET THIS GO UNCHALLENGED.
FOR OUR PART, OUR PROPOSALS FOR A CONFERENCE THAT WOULD
CONTRIBUTE TO AN EASING OF TENSIONS REMAINS ON THE TABLE.
IN THAT REGARD, WE WISH TO DRAW SOVIET ATTENTION TO THE
SECRETARY'S JULY 22 SEATTLE SPEECH WHICH WE BELIEVE
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PROVIDES A BASIS FOR MAINTAINING THE ARMISTICE WHILE
TERMINATING THE UN COMMAND, AS WELL AS EASING TENSIONS
IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND MAINTAINING THE CURRENT
SECURITY BALANCE. SOVIET EFFORTS TOWARD, AND THOUGHTS
REGARDING, ACHIEVING THESE GOALS IN CONJUNCTION WITH
THE US, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, AND OTHER INTERESTED
PARTIES ARE, AND HAVE ALWAYS BEEN, WELCOME. THE SOVIET
UNION SHOULD RECALL THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER POINTED
OUT IN HIS SEPTEMBER 1975 UNGA SPEECH THAT, "... IF
NORTH KOREA AND ITS ALLIES WOULD MOVE TO IMPROVE THEIR
RELATIONS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, WE WOULD BE
PREPARED TO TAKE SIMILAR RECIPROCAL ACTIONS."

6) IN RECENT SC DEBATE ON JULY 13, WE NOTED WITH
INTEREST REMARK BY SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE KHARMALOV THAT
USSR IS "READY, ALONG WITH OTHER STATES, TO TAKE NEW
ADDITIONAL MEASURES AGAINST ACTS OF INTERNATIONAL
TERRORISM." WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANYTHING
FURTHER USSR MIGHT HAVE TO SAY ON THIS MATTER.

7) EMBASSY PRESENTATION MIGHT END BY SOLICITING SOVIET
VIEWS ON UNGA ISSUES AND EMPHASIZING OUR DESIRE TO
WORK WITH THEM IN AREAS WHERE OUR INTERESTS OVERLAP.

8) DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:BFOPPEL;

CLEARED BY IO-SWLEWIS; EUR-JAARMITAGE; C-HCSONNENFELDT;
P-DO'DONOHUE; EA/K-PMAYHEW; ARA/PLC-GMONSMA; S/CCT-
ESHURWITZ; S-
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